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CANON TELLS SIR GLADWYN

Why UNO should discuss S. Africa

THE storm of indiscriminate violence which is taking place in Kenya was contrasted with the non-violent resistance movement in the Union of South Africa in a sermon preached by Canon L. John Collins, Chancellor of St. Paul's, at Chelsea, last Sunday.

The Canon said he believed that the events in Kenya should warn us to be even more specific and even more enthusiastic in our support of the passive resistance movement, because if it had to be abandoned, the way chosen by Mau Mau—the way of violence—might be the next alternative in South Africa.

He said that for the Africans the alternatives to passive resistance were either revolution or acceptance of slavery and the principle that the black man was inferior to the white. Every form of race discrimination was wholly repugnant to the conscience of the Christian.

Two forgotten factors

Criticising Sir Gladwyn Jebb's contention at UN Canon Collins said:

"The blacks and coloureds in South Africa, who constituted more than three-quarters of the population, had little or no say in the internal affairs of the country and no direct representation in Parliament. What truth there might ordinarily be in Sir Gladwyn Jebb's contention ceased to have any valid significance when the relationship between the various racial groups in any country became a cause for unrest outside.

"It may be well, lest we be too easily influenced by Sir Gladwyn Jebb's statements, to ask ourselves whether Hitler's attitude to the Jews in Germany was purely a matter of Germany's domestic jurisdiction."

Kenya: The Army moved quickly

WHY SO SLOW WITH ECONOMIC MEASURES?

By DOUGLAS ROGERS

AFRICAN fears, about which I wrote in Peace News five weeks ago, that the Mau Mau agitation would be made a pretext for attacking their legitimate political organisations have been more than justified.

The eight repressive ordinances which were rushed through the Legislative Council have been superseded by the declaration of a state of emergency which has, in effect, put the whole country under martial law.

Over 100 leading members of the Kenya African Union have been arrested without charges being brought against them.

Every day Africans are being arrested by the dozen on the vaguest suspicion of Mau Mau connections.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton said that the Kenya African Union has not been proscribed. This is playing with words. The arrest of its leading personnel smashes its effectiveness.

All meetings of Africans, in any case, have been banned and no one can move freely about the roads.

Now this week there is talk of closing the schools run by the African-organised Kenya Independent School Association.

If the Government is really concerned with stamping out terrorism and the growth of secret societies, there is no more insane way of going about it.

Reports from Kenya speak of Kikuyu tribesmen flocking into the forests and mountains, driving their goats and other livestock before them. African workers are leaving the European farms. Some African reserves are now deserted.

Feel Europeans have declared war

Whatever the effect of this will be, it seems clear that large sections of Africans feel that the Europeans have declared war on them. They have become refugees. Perhaps, if nothing is done to stop the panic, these Africans will retaliate with violence, but meanwhile it is unreasonable to suggest that all these tribesmen are terrorists. Assassins do not take goats about with them.

It is difficult to see what the Government is hoping for. It says it does not believe that the majority of Africans support violence, yet it has done everything possible to alienate their co-operation.

Jomo Kenyatta, president of KAU, made a statement condemning violence as a political weapon. "All responsible Africans," he declared, "deplore such crimes committed by a small group of irresponsible people." He suggested a round-table conference between the different races to tackle crime at its economic source.

Two days later he was arrested.

Achieng Oneko, young general secretary of KAU, was also arrested. A few months ago he was in England working with the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism on the land petition. Those who have met him cannot possibly believe he is mixed up with Mau Mau.

The notion that KAU is behind a Mau

(Continued on page six)

EMRYS HUGHES M.P.

The lessons of Monte Bello

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PN BIRTHDAY

Tonight's meeting

THE founding of Peace News, 16 years ago, will be commemorated at a meeting at the Conway Hall, London, at 7.30 this evening (Friday), which will also mark the anniversary of the death of Dick Sheppard — founder of the Peace Pledge Union—in October, 1937.

Peace News has received the following birthday greeting from Dame Sybil Thorndike, who herself celebrated her seventieth birthday last week:

"I am a regular reader of Peace News and find it always full of interest; challenging articles—true information—and something to be learnt; something to be absorbed. It is a stimulant to sincere thinking and to brave doing. No other paper gives me so much."

Dame Sybil's daughter, Ann Casson, will be among those contributing to the programme of the meeting. With her husband, Douglas Campbell (who recently played Othello at the Old Vic) she will give excerpts from Shakespeare.

Another artist who is to perform is Frank Merrick, the pianist, who is a professor at the Royal College of Music, and an active member of the PPU.

Vera Brittain, a sponsor and former Chairman of the PPU, will make the first speech of the evening, and later there will be speeches by Michael Tippett, another PPU sponsor, Humphrey Moore, the founder-editor of Peace News, and Allen Skinner, the present editor. Sybil Morrison, Chairman of the PPU, will be in the chair.

All Peace News readers and their friends are invited. There will be a charge of 1s. for admission.

Before the meeting, from 6.30 onwards, there will be a social hour, with refreshments available at modest charges and an exhibition of photographs, and early issues of Peace News.

QUAKER MISSION TO KOREA

For relief survey

A two-man Quaker mission is going to Korea to survey the possibilities of undertaking relief work there.

Lewis Waddilove, the British Friends Service Council member of the mission, left London Airport for the U.S. on Monday.

He is a former Friends' Ambulance Unit worker and a member of the executive of the FAU International Service.

American member of the mission is expected to be Dr. Jonathan Rhoads of the American Friends' Service Committee.

The British Friends' Service Council and the American Friends' Service Committee were awarded the 1947 Nobel Peace Prize for their work. During the Chinese Civil War they had relief teams working simultaneously behind both the Communist and Nationalist lines.

Before he left Britain, Lewis Waddilove made the following statement to Peace News:

THE tensions between the Eastern and Western world are almost daily in the minds of every person in this country.

It was formerly in Germany and today it is in Korea that these tensions take visible form and public attention is therefore focussed on them. Thus the visit of a Quaker mission to Korea following quite hard upon the Quaker mission to Moscow tends to arouse a good deal of interest.

On the spot

According to present plans, the mission will consist of one British and one American Friend who will meet in the United States on or about October 28. Some days will be spent in discussions with United Nations officials in New York and Washington, after which they will leave for further discussions with American Friends on the West Coast where interest in Korean problems is naturally highest.

On November 10, they hope to leave for Tokyo where some discussions with military authorities should be possible, and will then be able to spend about two weeks in Korea discussing possibilities with military and civil authorities on the spot and investigating actual conditions so far as this is possible.

Sometimes from an exploratory mission of this kind a much more dramatic outcome is expected than can possibly result at least in the immediate future.

For upwards of a year there has been a somewhat confused situation in which a door has appeared to be open for voluntary organisations to take part in relief work, but in practice, organisations which have attempted to start work have found the conditions impossible.

The reason for the present visit of enquiry is that there seems much more hopeful prospects of an arrangement with the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) which will enable Friends and other voluntary groups to take some part in a relief programme. Again there have been hesitations, as it would have been more satisfactory to have opened any work of relief simultaneously in North and South Korea but the promise of reasonable conditions in the South has decided Friends at least to explore the ground.

The particular immediate needs which have been suggested are those of orphan children and of some help with educational problems; it is understood that UNKRA would welcome the help of voluntary agencies in these two fields.

Can influence official programme

Whether or not any programme of work by British and American Friends can, in fact, be initiated at this stage must await the report of the mission.

Problems of relief in countries ravaged by present-day conflicts are on a scale that can be matched only by the resources of international agencies with government funds and supplies at their disposal.

Recent history has shown, however, that the contribution which Friends and other voluntary groups can make is often more, not less, important in this situation.

Voluntary agencies can both influence the whole pattern of the official programme

(Continued on page six)

WOKING UNA DEBATES GERMAN REARMAMENT

"Building up my strength — back next week!"

NEGOTIATORS MIGHT FIND THIS NOTICE ON STALIN'S DOOR

By MARY WILLIS

A MOTION "that this meeting approves the present plans for the rearmament of Western Germany" was defeated by a substantial majority at a debate organised by the Woking (Surrey) branch of the United Nations Association last week. There were some 200 people present.

The opposition to the motion was led by Mr. Klaus Volkman, London Editor of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, who began by saying that he was not a Communist but a Liberal.

He argued that there was no evidence that Russia was contemplating an attack in the West, and he thought the Iron Curtain was a show which they put up to divert attention from their activities in the East.

Before the Germans were rearmed, they should be consulted as to whether they wanted it, said Mr. Volkman. They had had two wars already in which they had learnt that war does not pay.

Mr. Harvey Cole of the Economist, who seconded him, attacked the whole idea of negotiation from strength by pointing out that the other side would play the same game. When we had built up our strength to what we considered a satisfactory level, and went to call on Stalin with a view to negotiating, we should find a notice on his door "Building up my strength—back next week!"

The proposer of the rearmament motion, Major Peter Hodgens, a member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, said that to build up the strength of the West would reduce the threat of war. If we tried to rearm without a West German contribution, we should bankrupt ourselves.

Asked by a member of the audience to say why, if Russia intended to attack, she had not done so before there was any talk of German rearmament, he put it down firstly to the West's advantage in the matter of atomic bombs and secondly to the fact that Stalin was waiting to see whether the Western nations would collapse economically, and save him the necessity of a military attack.

Major Hodgens said he had recently met Dr. Adenauer and his Foreign Minister, both of whom were convinced of the need for rearmament. The German Government had been democratically elected, and it was up to the people to follow them.

He was seconded by a German, Dr. Karl-Heinz Worpenberg, who recently came to teach in this country. Dr. Worpenberg said that most of the Germans to whom he had spoken were in favour of rearmament. He thought, however, that there was no fear of a revival of German militarism.

Calls for a cease-fire

THE National Council of the Peace Pledge Union has declared its support of the proposals included in the statement made by the Society of Friends (Quakers) on the Korean War.

These proposals, which were published in Peace News on September 19, asked for:

The establishment of a cease-fire immediately, on the conditions already agreed upon by the negotiators at Panmunjom, leaving the unresolved issues, especially the matter of the release of prisoners, to fresh negotiations after the fighting has stopped.

That the negotiations regarding the release of prisoners of war be put into the hands of a commission either representing a few Asian Governments in which both sides have confidence, or a mixed commission of two appointed by each side.

That the good offices of India might be fully used in all negotiations for the restoration of peace in Korea; and

That all Governments would urge upon the Press and radio in their respective countries—and themselves practise—restraint in all comments on the dispute, and that they would not impute evil motives to the other side.

The PPU Council decided to send a letter to this effect to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, and to ask the Foreign Secretary to instruct the British Delegation to the UN Assembly to act in this sense.

The Council also decided to ask that the admission of the Peking Government should be urged.

The Committee of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War has also urged upon the Prime Minister a cease-fire in Korea.

The Committee say:

"Compromises made by both sides have shown that negotiations can achieve useful results and the continued infliction of death and injury, whilst negotiations are held, is, in our opinion as doctors, unreasonable and morally unjustified."

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

31st October, 1952

KAISERSLAUTERN

WHAT kind of tragedy will the little town of Kaiserslautern epitomise a few years hence ?

A few months ago it was a quiet little town in the Palatinate, West of the Rhine, about 25 miles from the French frontier. It is less than 60 miles from Strasbourg; less than 50 from Saarbrucken. It is, of course, in the French-controlled zone of Germany.

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It is now in process of being turned into America's biggest base in Europe. Up to the present the Kaiserslautern preparations have cost £280,000,000.

One suburb of the town, Vogelweh, will house 10,000 Americans with their families. It will be "the biggest American city in Europe."

Nearby there is in progress a building programme at Landstuhl which is to accommodate a further 6,000 Americans, members of the United States Air Force.

When the construction programme is completed—and this is anticipated for June of next year—it is estimated that one in every ten of the inhabitants of the town will be in American employment. In the past year the number of people living at Kaiserslautern has increased by 15,000 to 80,000.

Kaiserslautern itself is only the centre of a wide area of associated developments. At Baumholder, about 15 miles away, there is to be the biggest troop training ground in Germany; and the river Nahe has been dammed to provide power and water supplies for 18,000 troops.

At Bad Kreuznach, 30 miles away, four new airfields are being built; and there are two more on the road to Coblenz further north. At Birkenfeld, some three miles from Baumholder, an American radar station has been built while, also in this district, there is a chemical research station.

In addition to these things there is in the area an ammunition, ordnance and supply depot that occupies 2,500 acres, and four new hospitals are being constructed, of which three are each big enough to deal with a thousand casualties.

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Kaiserslautern is booming. Three hundred German firms are carrying out development contracts. GIs are spending at the rate of 12 million dollars a year in the town and the takings of the shops have nearly doubled. Twenty-five new stores have been opened. Three night clubs have been started. One in every twenty inhabitants now drives his own car.

Another figure—less apt for the brochures—is that the illegitimate birthrate has risen to a figure of 25 per month, or about one per annum for every 270 of the enlarged population.

What kind of tragedy have the years ahead for Kaiserslautern ?

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It is the centre of a great concentration of military power and equipment, constructed with eyes on the East, but which can be turned to the West.

Is is destined to become a focussing point for a new expression of an egotistic German militarism—fostered by the Western powers and imposed on a German people who were ready for a peaceful future ?

Is it to become the target for an atom bomb from the East—a Hiroshima that has designated itself as an appropriate target ? Or is is to meet with the tragedy of peace ? It is part of the "strength" from which negotiations are to follow. So runs the theory. If these negotiations are ever to take place and the world is to learn that it may prepare to live in peace then Kaiserslautern must expect to see its prosperity end in catastrophic slump, unemployment, poverty and decay.

It will be something like a miracle if some kind of tragedy is not epitomised in Kaiserslautern a few years hence.

What are the citizens of the town to hope for ? They are certainly not likely to express a strong pacifist view, however dreadful the threat of war may be for them. Their whole future prospects will be bound up with preparations for war.

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Another installation might well be set up in Kaiserslautern: a research institute which could study the economic and psychological factors that turn citizens who would have liked to live peacefully into so many contributing pressures tending to bring war upon the world.

France and Germany

WITHOUT repudiating his foreign secretary, M. Schuman (the help of whose party is needed if the present French Government is to survive) M. Pinay could not have done less than agree to lay before Parliament a Bill to ratify the Contractual Agreement with Germany and the European Defence Treaty, but no immediate decision on either is involved.

Once the Bill is presented the complicated documents will have to go to committees who may spend some months in studying them. It is unlikely that the Bill will come up for full discussion in the Assembly before January.

The debate in the German Bundestag will probably take place in November.

In the meantime there is talk in both countries of possible revisions—though for different reasons.

Though the ratification has never been more dependent on agreement over the Saar, the deadlock there is bound to have its effect.

Such hesitations are natural but what both France and Germany have got to decide is whether they want German rearmament and a European Defence system which will depend so much upon the German contribution.

We hope that the present doubts will crystalise out into definite and effective opposition to the fatal step of ratification.

Korea

PRIORITY has been given by the political committee of the United Nations' General Assembly to the situation in Korea, and discussions have already begun.

If it is really the desire of Britain, America and the Soviet Union to achieve an honourable armistice, as it is the desire of the other nations in UN, there will have to be a different approach.

It is a pity that Mr. Acheson's opening speech was so violently anti-Russian. True he was able to marshal an imposing array of facts designed to throw responsibility for the past and the present deadlock on to the Soviet Union, but his speech only invited a similar series of charges against America, from Mr. Gromyko.

In his concern to justify the action of UN and to beg the whole question as to where responsibility for the origin of the conflict lies, Mr. Acheson only succeeded in embittering the situation, instead of giving to the committee a lead which could have resulted in a fruitful discussion by showing that he does regard the agreement on an armistice to be of paramount importance.

Mr. Gromyko could no doubt retaliate by making similar accusations against America in S. Korea, let alone in Germany, but that will get matters no nearer a solution and we wish that there was some chance of his showing a more statesmanlike and constructive attitude than his opposite number.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has again warned the Assembly of the uselessness of provocative propaganda speeches, and we hope that he has been briefed to cut out the polemics and put forward definite proposals for ending the deadlock.

The other hope rests on the private talks which are taking place on the initiative of the Indian government and Mrs. Pandit.

The whole spirit and purpose of the Charter demands that both sides should cease invectives about the past and think out how the method of negotiation and reconciliation can be successfully applied to the present.

After all it is not as though the actual situation is so complicated. There is a straightforward and comparatively simple solution as both Peace News and the recent statement of the Society of Friends have pointed out.

The germs

CHARGES of germ warfare continue to exacerbate the discussions at UN.

Mr. Acheson was hardly fair to the Soviet Union when he accused them of refusing to come before an impartial body to prove the truth of their accusations against America.

The whole point at issue is the nature of the impartial body.

Either party to a dispute or a charge can under British law challenge members of the jury which is to try the case and without stating any reasons for a given number of times.

What Mr. Acheson did not say was that the Soviet Union and China have also demanded an impartial enquiry.

The East happens to be unable to accept the Western view that the International Red Cross is such a body, and a mere repetition of that suggestion will not make the USSR change its mind.

If the Assembly are to discuss the matter seriously they must give both sides the opportunity to produce their evidence, but they have refused to allow N. Koreans to attend and enlarge on charges they have made.

The only alternative is for both sides to agree on an investigating body which each will recognise as impartial and whose judgment will be acceptable to both sides and to the world in general.

It ought to be the concern of both sides to agree on such a body, but as matters stand there seems to be little chance of getting an impartial investigation, and those who do not want to prejudge the issue but are determined to preserve an independent mind and refuse to pass final judgment until all the facts have been stated and proved will have to suspend judgment indefinitely.

BEHIND THE NEWS

The atoms

ONE important fact which emerged from the Prime Minister's description of the recent test of Britain's first atom bomb was that something over £100 million pounds had been spent on the project.

That the ship which was used for the experiment was vapourised and disappeared did not surprise Mr. Churchill so much as that such a huge sum "could be dispersed without Parliament being made aware of it."

With his customary tactics, and a backhanded compliment to the Opposition, he involved the Labour Party in the project, for it is true that coupled with their share of the praise must go a grave measure of responsibility.

A passage in the "Forrestal Diaries" attributes to Mr. Attlee a statement made to the then Secretary of the American Navy when he was in London in November 1948:

> "There is no division in the British public mind about the use of the atomic bomb—they were for its use. Even the Church in recent days had publicly taken this position."

When Mr. Attlee was recently asked to comment on this he said:

> "One cannot found anything upon a casual note in a diary. I have no doubt that what I said was that the atomic bomb would have to be used as an ultimate resort in the event of war. I may also have alluded to the statements made by leaders of the Church. I have no doubt that the point I made was that it is extremely difficult, once there is a war, to ban the use of a particular weapon. You are, of course, correct in saying that I opposed the use of the atomic bomb in the war in Korea."

Unfortunately it is true that the leaders of the Church of England have expressed the view that the atom bomb must be held in reserve in case it should be needed in the final resort to defend Christianity against Communism, but that does not give the warrant of Christ to its use ,nor does it represent the view of a very large number of people in this and other countries.

Well may we ask what contribution the British bomb has made even to our security let alone the cause of a peaceful and prosperous world.

What a difference it would have made if instead of allowing £100m. to be dispersed without the knowledge of Parliament, that amount of money had been deliberately made available as a first contribution towards World Development and the financing of the War on Want.

That would have been a cause for congratulations indeed because it would have been the first effective step towards the new world of peace and prosperity.

The Presidential election

REUTERS are now syndicating a lively article entitled "See How They Run" on the final stages of the U.S. Presidential election. It is written by Professor George Catlin, at present holding a temporary professorial post at the University of California.

This view of the election from "inside America" presents the issues confronting the United States as a series of questions to which no-one, as yet, has found definite answers.

Has Vice-Presidential candidate Richard Nixon's personal political fund damaged Republican chances ?

Will Mr. Truman's assertion that Communist spy-searching was a red herring dragged in on a string by the Republicans, end by damaging the President's party ?

Has the overwhelming vote for Senator McCarthy in progressive Wisconsin shown how far the people think that the President was wrong ?

Should Mr. Eisenhower have intervened in Wisconsin to denounce the Senator's exuberant methods, or would the Democrats have proclaimed that such interference was "unconstitutional"?

Will Mr. Truman "whistle up" the Democratic voters at the last moment, as in 1948, or is his record and personality a handicap to Governor Adlai Stevenson ?

These and kindred baffling questions have to be mentally considered before November 4 by an electorate of which one half regards Mr. Stevenson as the expert in government and Eisenhower as an amateur, and the other half sees Eisenhower as a specialist in foreign affairs about which Adlai Stevenson is an ignoramous.

There are today more registered Democrats who owe substantial benefits to Roosevelt's New Deal, than registered Republicans. The result will turn upon one major question: Can Eisenhower's wartime popularity bring in a large enough "floating vote" to redress the balance ?

According to a poll by Elmo Roper in late September, 15 per cent. of undecided pro-Republicans think that they may be better off financially under the Democrats. This poll showed a still uncertain 50 per cent., of which the majority believed that the Democrats had made no serious and avoidable mistakes. But a Gallup Poll taken at the beginning of October showed the decided Republicans leading the decided Democrats by 45 to 38 per cent., leaving 17 per cent. still on the fence.

There appears to be no evidence from the polls that Senator Nixon's financial experiments have affected the vote in either direction. Eisenhower has drawn the larger crowds, but so did Mr. Churchill in 1945.

Getting past the Statue of Liberty

ARISING from criticisms recently published in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists of the handling of visas by the U.S. State Department, the Manchester Guardian last week had some comments to make on the subject.

While the most trouble, it remarks is "the ignorant and crude malignity of people like McCarran and McCarthy, demagogues and xenophobes of the worst order," who exercise a terrorism over the State Department, "much of the illiberalism that is doing so much harm to the good name of the United States abroad springs from sheer bureaucratic incompetence as much as deliberate policy."

It seems fairly clear that the attitude of mind, of which we have been given such a revealing example in our endeavour to have Mrs. Jessie Street act as our correspondent at the General Assembly, is largely a result of this incompetence.

It is obvious that those who are not capable of observing elementary business courtesy with people who are incurring expense, and the disposition of whose time depends on the decision to be given, are not fitted to deal with any aspects of a nation's foreign relationships and it is the appalling lack of courtesy that can completely ignore a series of enquiries over a period of three months that we find particularly deplorable.

This however, is evidently the kind of treatment that anybody who is desirous of visiting the United States may be subjected to. It is not only the withholding of passports that the scientists complain of, but the wanton inconvenience caused to busy people.

In the case of which we have to complain, however, it is not a matter of anybody desiring to visit the United States.

We were not seeking that Mrs. Street should visit the United States on our behalf; we were asking her to be present at the General Assembly meetings. Unfortunately these are being held in the United States.

We are not concerned that Mrs. Street has not been given permission to visit New York. We are concerned that she has been prevented from attending and reporting upon the meetings of the Assembly.

The agreement between the United Nations and the United States on the headquarters of the United Nations stipulates that no impediments shall be imposed to transit to UN headquarters of representatives of the Press. In this case, not only has our representative's visit been prevented, but the matter has been treated with the maximum of unmannerliness.

Enquiries at UN headquarters make it clear that accreditation had been duly issued by the United Nations to our representative and in accordance with the practice obtaining (which appears to us to be highly undesirable) it had been sent to the State Department to be forwarded with the visa. Neither the accreditation nor the visa has been sent on, and there seems to be a clear breech of the agreement between the United Nations and the United States.

IN MEMORIAM

THE Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund is the richer by £100 through a special gift in memory of Corder Catchpool sent by an anonymous donor in the hope that others will show their affection and gratitude in a similar way.

I have also had a promise of a further £100 if the Fund totals £800 by Christmas Day, so that this, with the similar promise made previously, really means that the final £200 in our aim for the year is assured if we can contribute the balance.

We have been able to ask for (and receive) the £1 promised if 24 others would each give £1 in October, and I now have a promise of £1 if 24 others will send £1 during November.

So far we have received £30 in reply to the promise of A.D.S. to give £10 if six others would give £10 each by the end of October. We can still ask for this £10 if three readers will send £10 each AT ONCE. Who can manage this ?

Another big donation and other similar smaller but no less welcome amounts have brought our total up to £604, so that we now have to raise £200 by the end of the year—exactly the same amount which we have received during the last fortnight !

With the example of men like Corder Catchpool to inspire us to fresh efforts and the challenge of those who have helped to bring our total well within reach, I look for a specially good response to the appeal for the PPU's Headquarters Fund this week.

STUART MORRIS.
General Secretary.

Total received to date:	£604
Amount received since October 10:	£200
Amount conditionally promised:	£200
Amount still required this year:	£200

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

FACTS AND FIGURES — By Francis Rona, M.Sc. (Econ).

Commonwealth trade and the dollar problem

1. CAN THE STERLING AREA SURVIVE?

THE Commonwealth Conference, to be held in London at the end of November, aims at the raising of the dangerously low dollar reserves and an agreement on trade policies within the Sterling Area (excluding Canada which belongs to the $-Area).

Commonwealth trading is based on "Imperial Preference" (preferential tariffs with the Commonwealth) and on discriminatory trade regulations. These include import quotas and exchange control; payments abroad must be authorised by the Bank of England to whom specified currencies (for exports, dividends, etc.) must be sold in the United Kingdom.

Britain's post-war trade policies have been challenged by the U.S. Administration who want to liquidate any "insulated trading system" in the world and to establish the so-called "free flow of trade" (multilateralism) without controls.

The clash between British and American concepts began in 1945 in connection with the Washington Loan (approx. £940m.), granted on three chief conditions:

1. Britain must lift exchange control and make sterling convertible into dollars;
2. Britain must accept imports from the U.S. without discrimination; and
3. Substantial "blocked sterling" balances must be released for India, Egypt, etc. and converted into dollars for imports from America (Cmd. 6708).

These conditions implied a heavy burden and led to a rapid drain on dollar reserves resulting in the "convertibility crisis" of August 1947.

Mr. Churchill said in the House of Commons on Dec. 13, 1945:

"It is a pity that we should have allowed a commercial loan agreement to be mixed up and linked up with other transactions. I do not like the mixture.

"This convertibility proposal within 15 months appears to be a proposition so doubtful and perilous that the best hope is that in practice it will defeat itself and that it is in fact too bad to be true."

Mr. Churchill's prediction holds good also today.

CONTRACTION OF BRITAIN'S TRADE

The value of British exports in September 1952 (£186m. f.o.b.) fell back to the 1950-level and is now 13½ per cent. below the average of 1951. The physical volume of exports declined even more. The percentage for April-June 1952 is 151 (1947 = 100) against 173 for the same months 1951.

The last Board of Trade Report (Vol. 3/10) also states that Germany's exports jumped from D.Mark.700m. per month (£58m.) in 1950 to D.M.1,500m. (£125m.) in July last.

Germany mainly supplies useful machinery (not arms), cutlery and other metal goods representing 70 per cent. of her total exports. Another 20 per cent. consist of chemicals and other manufactured goods.

Japan's exports expand less rapidly, because trade with China is prohibited by the U.S. which controls Japan's imports (raw cotton, food) and her commercial policy.

Consequently, Japan is forced to "invade" the Sterling Area which receives about half of her total exports (in 1951 $620m., mainly cotton goods). Nearly 25 per cent. of Japan's exports go to the $-Area, the rest to Indonesia, Siam, Formosa, Brazil, etc.

The table below shows the increasing dependence of Britain on trading with North America: while the proportion of imports rises (1950: 15 per cent., 1952: 19.3 per cent), America's share in British exports declines.

Most of the Dominions have cut their imports, also from Britain, due to the drop in their export earnings since mid-1951.

For example, Australia's exports fell by £300m., or 30 per cent. in 1951 and its dollar deficit rose to $165m. for 12 months ending June 30, 1952. In the preceding year a surplus of $71m.was paid into the "Dollar Pool" in London, whereas British deliveries have now been restricted and dollars withdrawn. India and Pakistan have also reduced imports and Ceylon has just concluded a barter agreement with China (rubber for rice).

Britain's trade with Western Europe (OEEC) has steadily declined in the last months owing to restrictions. Total intra-European trade amounted to $3,561m. (£1,270m.) in the fourth quarter of 1951 and fell to $3,122m. (£1,110m.) in the second quarter of 1952, i.e. it declined by 12 per cent (OEEC Bulletin, Sept., 1951.

CAN EXPORTS EXPAND?

"What to produce and where to sell ?" is the basic problem of export policy.

The Dominions and Colonies are crying out for economic development (e.g. Colombo Plan). India is clearly not interested in Centurion tanks ("the best in the world") and jet fighters but badly needs industrial equipment and agricultural implements.

The Table shows that the Asian Dominions, inhabited by 440m. people, receive only 6 per cent. of Britain's exports If they cannot get the goods, they will break away from Commonwealth trade and leave the Sterling Area.

At present all efforts are concentrated on "earning dollars" in order to balance trade accounts with North America. But the U.S. market is comparatively narrow, surrounded by tariff barriers, and competed for by half of the world.

Whereas imports into the U.S. in Jan-June 1952 amounted only to 3½ per cent of its National Income ($5.800m = £2,070m) the proportion in Britain is about 30 per cent. In other words, U.S. citizens—on the the average—spend only one-thirtieth part of their income on all foreign goods, but the British one-third.

The narrowness of the U.S. market and the contraction of British exports to other countries necessitate an expansion of the neglected trade with Eastern Europe. Sir Hartley Shawcross, formerly President of the Board of Trade, stated in the BoT Journal, 18 Aug., 1951:

"To deprive each part of Europe of the resources of the other would not put an end to Communism; it would merely depress the economic welfare of both parts without giving either side any relative advantage."

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION BY U.S.?

Mr. Harold Wilson writes in "In Place of Dollars" (p.14):

"If the American economy moves into even a slight recession, the market for European goods and for products of the Commonwealth will slump, and the world's dollar problem, particularly our own, will become even worse than ever. To maintain production, American industries, over-expanded to meet the calls of the defence production, will be let loose on all the markets of the world."

"Not only in dollar markets, but all over the world our export industries will be fighting a losing battle."

Mr. Wilson presents a "Four Point Plan" (p.15) for Britain's trade. The "anti-Bevanites" have no trade programme at all, they just beg for more U.S. "assistance" (e.g. "Katz-Gaitskell Agreement"). "Trade not Aid," says Mr. Butler. Clearly, with Mr. Gaitskell as Chancellor the Labour Party cannot win the next election.

The Conservative Government has succeeded in halting the "dollar drain," but the remedy by import cuts has slowed down production and lowered living standards.

The Commonwealth Conference has to decide not only on short-period solutions for the "dollar problem" (trade deficit) but also on long-term policies for economic co-operation to develop resources. Asian Dominions need industrialisation and must have either goods from Britain or released "sterling balances" convertible into dollars.

America presses for convertibility to establish control and domination over the (so-called) "free flow of world trade." If Mr. Snyder, U.S. Treasury Secretary, gets his terms and conditions for waiving interest payments on U.S. loans next December Britain's trade will be delivered to the mercy of international speculators.

The integration of Commonwealth trade into the U.S. economy will inevitably lead to the disintegration of the Sterling Area.

BRITAIN'S EXTERNAL TRADE BY AREAS

		in £ million	U.S & Canada	India & Pak'stn	Brit. Cols.	R'st of £-area	W.Eu'pe (OEEC)	East Europe	R'st of W'rld
					per cent.				
1950	IMPORTS ...	2,372	15	4.8	12.2	21	25.1	4.1	14.8
	EXPORTS ...	2,225	11.3	6.1	11.8	28.6	26.2	2.6	13.4
	Trade Deficit ...	147							
1951	IMPORTS ...	3,494	16.4	4.9	14	16.8	25.8	5.2	16.9
	EXPORTS ...	2,715	10.8	6.0	12.8	30.4	24.8	3.1	12.1
	Trade Deficit ...	779							
1952 Jan.-June	IMPORTS ...	1,600	19.3	4.4	16	17.3	24.5	5.3	13.2
	EXPORTS ...	1,516	10.6	6.4	13.9	28.2	24.0	4.5	12.4
	Trade Deficit ...	84							

SOURCES: Cmd. 8666, Report on Overseas Trade, Oct. (Vol. III/10).

NOTE: Imports and Exports, including re-exports, are at f.o.b. values. *The Balance of Payments* position, including "Visibles" (net commodity trade) and "Invisibles" (Shipping, Interest, Travel, Government transactions) was: 1950 a surplus of £244m; 1951 a deficit of £465m.;
Gold and Dollar Reserves: June, 1951 (Chancellor: Mr. Gaitskell) £1,381m; June, 1952 (Chancellor: Mr. Butler) £602m. The decline in reserves stemmed from the "arms drive" by Mr. Gaitskell.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

TODAY the eyes of the world are on South Africa and the passive resistance campaign being waged there.

The power of the pacifist in his practice of non-violence and non-co-operation with evil has been demonstrated countless times through the ages.

History records some incidents. Others have come down to us as legends and folklore. Many examples are known only through the obscure writings of religious personages.

The technique has had various names—"practice of Christianity," "non-resistance," "non-violence," "pacifism," "soul-force," the last being the term preferred by Mahatma Gandhi.

TRIUMPHS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The success attained by Gandhi in the use of non-violence, first in South Africa, and then in India, makes him an international figure of great importance. Pacifists of the present time have seen and heard him with their own eyes and ears. They know of the problems involved; of the power and strength that it takes to use peaceful persuasiveness instead of destructive force, and of the results that might be expected.

But Gandhi did not invent or create the idea of non-resistance. His belief in this method of changing attitudes came after long years of meditation and prayer, and grew with wide reading of writings in different countries, and correspondence with others of like minds and interests. In fact there is definite evidence that Gandhi drew much of his courage and confidence in the practice of non-violence from a radical peace group in Boston in 1838 which took the name of The Non-Resistance Society of New England, and which issued a public statement of its beliefs in the form of a lithographed broadside with the title, "Declaration of Sentiments."

Tolstoy and Gandhi

The connection between this 1838 group and Gandhi some hundred years later can be traced in three books which might be found in any well-stocked library.

The first book is "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas," by C. F. Andrews (Macmillan, 1930). In a chapter, "Passive Resistance in South Africa," the author tells of the friendship between Gandhi and Tolstoy in Russia, and quotes in full a letter from Tolstoy encouraging Gandhi in his passive resistance activity in the Transvaal. One sentence is important.

"... from this end of the world (it) is the most essential work, the most important of all work, now being done in the world, wherein not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part."

The second book is "The Kingdom of God is Within You," by Tolstoy. Andrews quotes Gandhi as stating that Tolstoy's writings helped to confirm his own opinions in regard to methods of combatting evils, but that "Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is Within You' gave it permanent form."

In his first chapter Tolstoy prints in full the New England "Declaration of Sentiments," and tells in detail how a copy came to him from a son of William Lloyd Garrison, who had drawn up the document nearly fifty years earlier:

"The work of Garrison, the father, in his founding of The Society of Non-Resistance, and his Declaration even more than my correspondence with the Quakers convinced me of the fact that the departure of the ruling form of Christianity from the law of Christ on non-resistance by force is an error ... But the fate of Garrison ... in being completely unrecognised in spite of fifty years of obstinate and persistent work in the same direction confirmed me in the idea that there exists a kind of tacit but steadfast conspiracy of silence about all such matters."

The third book is "William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879), The Story of His Life, told by His Children," (Century Co. 1885). Here is given a summary of Garrison's interest in the peace movement, his dissatisfaction with the conservative American Peace Society, and the events leading up to the calling of a radical peace convention in Boston, September 18-20, 1838. The Declaration is printed in full, and Garrison's excited report of the whole affair in a letter to his wife in Providence, Rhode Island, written immediately afterwards.

His statement, "The Declaration will make a tremendous stir, not only in this country but in time throughout the world," is certainly proving true, though he perhaps did not think that dramatic action would be delayed for nearly a hundred years.

In more ways than one, this gathering in Boston made history. Women participated, took part in the discussion, were elected to committees, and signed the final statement. Never before had women participated in such affairs ! In protest, a number of men among the 175 attenders, both clergymen and laymen, asked that their names be struck from the rolls.

Garrison told his wife he did not attend one of the sessions so as to write "The Declaration."

"In the afternoon it was reported to the Convention and never was more 'fanatical' or 'disorgaising' instrument penned by man. It swept the whole surface of society and upturned almost every existing institution ... Of course it produced a deep and lively sensation and a very long and critical debate, and to my astonishment was adopted by those present by a vote of more than five to one ... It was ordered to be engraved on parchment; the signatures of those who approved are to be appended to it."

A few copies of the original "Declaration" still exist and can be found in some older libraries. It consists of some two thousand words, spectacularly lettered in different patterns to give variety to the solid paragraphs. The size is about that of modern peace posters. Of the forty-four names attached, twenty are of women.

A stirring document

Some extracts from this stirring document may be useful for comparison with present-day ideas considered "radical":

"We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government by resort to physical force. ...

"The dogma that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, and that THE POWERS THAT BE in the United States, in Russia, in Turkey are in accordance with His will is not less absurd than impious. It makes the impartial Author of human freedom and equality, unequal and tyrannical. ...

"We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system, and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a foreign foe, all exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of nations by force and arms on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of governments requiring of its subjects military service. Hence we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or hold military office. ...

"While we shall adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense to speak, and act boldly in the cause of God ... Hence, we shall employ lecturers, circulate tracts and publications, form societies, and petition our state and national governments, in relation to the subject of Universal Peace. ...

"In entering upon the great work before us, we are not unmindful that, in its prosecution, we may be called to test our sincerity, even as in a fiery ordeal. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, yea, even death itself. We anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, calumny. Tumults may arise against us. The ungodly and violent, the proud and pharisaical; the ambitious and tyrannical, principalities and powers, spiritual wickedness in high places may combine to crush us. So they treated the Messiah, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate."

ELLEN STARR BRINTON.

Flat feet and flushed faces

By CYRIL HUGHES

THERE was a Labour Party conference at Morecambe, at the end of which the first home-made atomic bomb was exploded over the deserted sands.

At the moment of writing it is not yet known whether the heat generated by nuclear fission at Monte Bello was greater or less than that generated by political fission at Morecambe. Before the point becomes either proved or merely academic, it is necessary to get one or two things clear about the conference.

Attempts have been made in certain irresponsible corners of the Left-wing press to suggest that the Bevanites had something to be said for their point of view. This is quite wrong. Such a suggestion, if believed, can bring only disaster to the Labour Movement. All the evidence proves that the solid Right-wing and Trade Union section of the Labour Party is the guardian of socialist ideals and principles and practical common sense against the evil machinations of a handful of power-crazed political careerists (or careerist politicians).

*

ONE way of telling the difference between a socialist and a politician is that a socialist is always thinking of how to achieve socialism, whereas a politician is thinking about how to win the next election. This test will easily enable you to separate the sheep from the goatskells at Morecambe. Read the speeches of Bevan, Crossman, Wilson and their cronies. Not a trace in them of socialist thought, not a suggestion that the next Labour Government should be a socialist government, but only an arro-

(Continued on page five)

Mothers' protest

A RESOLUTION criticising the entry of Defence Force officers into schools to recruit boys from the age of 16 was passed unanimously at a meeting of the Pretoria (Transvaal) branch of the National Council of Women on October 3.

Among those who spoke in support of the motion were Mrs. N. M. M. Piper, a pacifist, who said: "Parents who allow their children to join the Forces condemn them to a life of killing. I am dead against boys joining the Army as a career.

"In most homes, what the mother says goes, and any mother who allows her child to go into the Forces is more than responsible.

Another speaker, Mrs. L. Wright, said that the age of 16 was too young at which to ask a boy to decide his career. "The Army is a career which once he has joined he is bound to, and cannot simply leave if he doesn't like it."

QUAKERS HAVE SHOWN WAY TO SETTLE DISPUTES

—CO tells Tribunal

THE International Centres set up by the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Europe and in India were quoted as a means of promoting international understanding by a young man who appeared before the CO tribunal at Fulham on Oct. 17.

He was John Ingram of North Harrow, an ex-student of University College, Exeter. In his statement, he said that military methods, based on the impersonal use of physical force, were opposed to the methods of Jesus, who taught us that God loves us as individuals, and overcomes evil by the power of love.

It was as an example of such methods that, he referred to the Friends' centres, where people of different nationalities meet together as friends in a spirit of goodwill.

Asked what was to be done when war broke out, he replied, "Well, you have still got to apply this rule of dealing with people as persons."

John Ingram told the tribunal that he had read a book by Archbishop Temple which put the case for Christians participating in warfare, as well as books by Canon Raven and Prof. MacGregor on the other side.

The Chairman, Judge Sir Gerald Hargreaves, said they felt the applicant had really grappled with the subject, and it was not for them to say whether the conclusions he had reached were right or wrong. They agreed that he should accept social work which had been offered to him at the Florence Institute for Boys in Liverpool.

War as "an instrument of love"

The next applicant, Roger Collins of Perry Rise, SE23, a Baptist, also applied for exemption on Christan pacifist grounds.

"Wars, whatever they may be and whatever they may achieve, are not an instrument of love," he said.

"The question is how you apply love to your fellow human beings," the Chairman told him. "Do you think it is a sign of love to allow the scoundrels always to have their way?"

"I think it sometimes does need pressure, as long as it is governed by love," replied Mr. Collins, "but if you go to war it ceases to be love and becomes governed by hate."

Asked what books he had read on the subject, he mentioned works by Dick Sheppard, C. J. Cadoux and G. C. Field.

He was granted exemption on the usual conditions.

Conditional exemption for Socialist

Edward Grant, of North Crescent, N.3., a member of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, said he believed that war was the product of the social system. It was wrong because of the way in which it perpetuated itself, and the misery and the terrible conditions which it caused.

In answer to a question, he said he would not go to war to defend Socialism against capitalism or Fascism.

I don't believe Fascism can be opposed by force," he declared, "I believe Fascism can only take root where there is ignorance, and therefore one can only oppose Fascism by spreading knowledge."

He, too, was granted exemption on the usual conditions.

Made Army equipment

Brian Terry of Paisley Road, Southampton said: "I refuse to either take or learn to take human life, as I am aware that it is a sin to kill on any justification whatsoever."

He said he was willing to serve in the RAMC, but the Chairman told him that though they could direct him to non-combatant service, they could not guarantee that he would go into the medical corps. "Would you be willing to serve in the non-combatant corps?" he asked.

"No," replied Brian Terry. I think that is just begging the question."

When he was questioned about the work he was doing, it transpired that he was engaged in research into the production of amplifiers for use by the Royal Corps of Signals. "That may possibly seem to be a contradiction," he remarked, "but the point is that the amplifiers do not take life—they may just as well be used for the RAMC as for bringing men up and down the line. I am afraid that practically all science is concerned with war."

Later he said that he did not intend to carry on with this work.

The Tribunal ruled that in view of the work he was doing he could not be registered as a conscientious objector.

DEPARTMENT OF EASY ANSWERS

Excerpt from the trial of an American conscientious objector—names omitted because the case is still pending.

District Attorney: In addition to that, paragraph 6, he (the CO defendant) is called upon to "Describe the actions and behaviour in your life which in your opinion most conspicuously demonstrate the consistency and depth of your religious convictions."

Then he answers: "I do not know how to answer this question."

Now, it is very evident, if your Honour please, that if he was a conscientious objector, he would very easily have been able to tell the board something, but he says "I do not know."

Judge: How?

DA: By presenting actions on his part.

Judge: What? Like what?

DA: How he lived and what he—

Judge: What do you mean, how he lived?

DA: Well—

Judge: How do you show your beliefs about war by how you live?

DA: Well, I really don't know.

Judge: Well, that's what he said. He doesn't know.

German war resisters meet

ACTIVELY OPPOSING REARMAMENT

THE Annual Conference of the German Section of the War Resisters International was held recently at Wuppertal and was attended by some forty delegates representative of the many groups in W. Germany.

Stuart Morris was present to represent the British section, the Peace Pledge Union, which has always had a special link with the German section, and he also conveyed a message from Grace Beaton (International Secretary) on behalf of the WRI. Another visitor was Doctor Meyer from Holland, who was one of the original members of the WRI.

The Conference typified a situation in which the somewhat rapid growth of the pacifist movement in Germany has meant an influx of new members and the establishment of new groups without the older traditions of pacifism behind them or a longer experience to guide them.

Many of the delegates were attending the AGM for the first time and in such circumstances there must always be the danger that the particular angle of some may be pressed to the disadvantage of the whole, or that enthusiasm for what seems to be an immediate objective may not take sufficient account of the longer term aims and the fundamental principles of pacifism.

Nevertheless it is all to the good that such enthusiasms and desires should have a chance of expression and that the German movement should have such an opportunity of considering its plans and purpose.

At the earlier sessions papers were read on "Co-operation with Other Organisations" and on "Some Fundamentals of Non-violent Resistance" on each of which there was a keen discussion.

The second day began with Reports presented personally by delegates on behalf of the groups actually represented, after which Doctor Theodore Michaltscheff, the untiring Secretary of the German Movement, gave a general report of the work of the whole section.

Gaining strength

The result of the birds-eye view was a mose encouraging picture of a movement which is gaining strength by the daily addition of new members and by the establishment of many new groups.

HAMBURG GROUP: After a special effort to get new signatories to the Declaration ("War is a crime against humanity. I am determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war.") and a parade in which 60 posters were carried, the group now numbers 1,000 members. There is a good attendance at monthly meetings. The working committee meets weekly.

WEST BERLIN: The biggest difficulty is the large volume of unemployed since so many men cannot look beyond the immediate need to scratch a living for themselves and their families. The group there numbers 120 and holds a monthly meeting.

STUTTGART: 217 members, who have arranged poster parades and public meetings, including a big gathering on Hiroshima Day. Many members are specially concerned with trying to influence the Trades Union movement.

HANNOVER: 100 members have held two public meeting and distributed many leaflets, as a result of which they are finding an increasing interest in their message. They are also making a special study of Non-violence.

MUNICH: 80 active members with a similar number of interested contacts. In spite of difficulties caused by a ban on their public meetings they have been actively opposing re-armament.

NURNBERG: There have been good public meetings and a big poster parade appealing for conscientious objection to military service which attracted considerable attention and gained useful publicity. Membership 100; meets bi-monthly.

Typical of the smaller groups are **Cologne**, which was called an "embryo group" of eight members, whose activities lead them to hope for a substantial increase: **Essen** with its ten members and **Wuppertal**, which was only formed recently but was active enough to be able to make the arrangements for the AGM to take place there.

Other groups include **Brunswick, Freiberg, Lubeck, Landau, Wurtzburg, Dortmund, Frankfurt, Osnabruck, Dusseldorf, Munster, Ulm.**

Seven new groups have been started in the last few weeks, and special attention is being given to the universities. There are some 400 members who are not attached to groups but who make valuable financial contributions to the movement.

In **Eastern Germany** pacifists are not allowed to form themselves into groups, and many feel themselves to be restricted in a full and free expression of their principles, but the fact that 125 copies of "Friedensrundschau" (the German section's monthly magazine) are sent across the dividing line is some indication of the interest on the other side.

It was reported that the "Friedensrundschau" for the first time paid its way, but the financial position of the movement is necessarily difficult.

It relies entirely on contributions from members and groups, and collections taken at meetings, and the increased printing of thousands of leaflets for general distribution has put a severe strain on their resources.

The section has recently been greatly helped and encouraged by a gift of 1,000 dollars from the War Resisters' League (the American section of the WRI) from a legacy they had received.

The gift was a recognition of the courage and devotion of the German section, and of the fact that there is in Germany a special opportunity which it is in the interest of the whole fellowship to help the German section to seize.

New President is MP

Doctor Fritz Wenzel, a member of the Bundestag, was re-elected President of the Section, and a new and representative Council was appointed.

No report of the German section would be complete without a special reference to Theodore Michaltscheff. It was he who called the first post-war meeting of pacifists in Hamburg in 1947, and ever since then he has been at the heart of the developing movement.

He has borne the heaviest part of the burden of organisation and also edited "Friedensrundschau," often under great financial difficulty. It is true to say that he has devoted his entire time and energies to the movement as its voluntary secretary.

Recently he has been feeling the results of the strain of his work, and had suggested that it was time that a younger member took over his work. The AGM would not hear of this, and unanimously urged him to carry on during this critical period and to accept some small financial help which would at least enable him to have typewriting assistance. He has agreed to abide by the decision of the AGM and has thus earned the added gratitude of us all for carrying on a strenuous and responsible task at a time which is so vital to the whole future of the German section, and so to the whole of the WRI.

In connection with the AGM a public meeting was arranged in Wuppertal, the subject being "Halt, the Fatal Step." The leader of the Group, Arthur Naujocks, took the chair, and Doctor Nicolas Koch introduced the speakers, Helene Wessel (a member of the Central Party in the Bundestag and co-founder with Dr. Heinemann of the Emergency League for Peace in Europe) and Stuart Morris.

Refused to announce CO rights

A SOUTHEND newspaper recently refused to insert an advertisement advising young men of the right of conscientious objection to military service.

The local Peace Pledge Union Group who asked for the insertion are to make another attempt to secure publication near the next National Service Registration date.

The group have prepared a panel of speakers able to challenge debating societies and youth clubs and have invited a speaker from the Labour Pacifist Fellowship to address a meeting at Southend Labour Institute on November 12.

A NEW—AND TOPICAL POSTER

"Germany— Bridge or Battlefield ? Demand a neutral and disarmed Germany as a start to world disarmament." This is the message carried by a new Quaker peace poster, 6d. post free from Northern Friends' Peace Board, Clifford St., York.

We refuse to treat the word "Peace" as tainted—*Australian Conference*

TWO thousand people were present at the opening rally of a Citizens' Conference on Peace and Disarmament held in Melbourne, Australia, from July 18 to 21.

The conference was organised by a Committee of Ministers of Religion who have been responsible for a weekly Peace Quest Forum, and the topics discussed were "Proposals for Disarmament," "Positive Steps to Peaceful Co-operation" and "Ways to Peace in Korea."

The official speakers included the President of the Methodist Conference of Victoria and Tasmania, the Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly of Victoria, Dr. John W. Burton and Lord Lindsay of Birker, and altogether 65 people spoke from the platform.

At the close of the conference, a statement was issued. It opened with a declaration that:

"The greatest danger to peace is the silence that surrounds this fundamental word. In view of this danger we refuse to treat the word as tainted or suspect."

After admitting that there had been some basic points in dispute in the conference, the statement continued: "Out of frank discussion of differing opinions, honestly held, we have arrived a little nearer to mutual understanding and respect. We have broken down some of the suspicions which have divided peace-lovers in our community."

It then proceeded to set out a number of points on which considerable agreement had been reached. They included the following:

THE PRESS. We call for the strongest possible social pressure to ensure that the Press should discontinue the practice of holding up the people of other nations and of other political faiths to hatred, ridicule and contempt.

THE COLD WAR. We deplore the almost complete absence of trust between the great Powers making up the rival groups in the cold war. While having to accept the absence of trust as a fact, we nevertheless believe and urge that new efforts at all levels by compromise be made to secure a real agreement on disarmament and other outstanding issues.

CHINA. We believe that international justice requires that the People's Government of China as the *de facto* government of China should be recognised by the Australian Government and the Republic should be seated in the United Nations and the Security Council.

KOREA. We believe that . . . the time has come to bring the war to an end. It has been acknowledged that a military victory is impossible in Korea. We therefore claim that the continuation of mass bombings, napalm bombings and other forms of warfare can only unnecessarily bring death and destruction in Korea and by their provocativeness delay the peaceful conclusion of the Korean peace talks.

We urge the Australian Government to take the initiative in the United Nations to urge the conclusion of the war.

The Peacemaker.

Public Meeting

BRITAIN — BRIDGE or BATTLEFIELD ?

Friday, 7th Nov. 7 p.m.

Midland Institute, Paradise St, Birmingham.

Speakers : VICTOR YATES, M.P. STUART MORRIS

(Peace Pledge Union, West Midlands Area)

If You're

- **Against Stalinism**
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- **For a Socialist Democracy and Total Disarmament**

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Indispensable to members of the PPU wh want up - to - dat information of home and word politics.

Flat feet and flushed faces

FROM PAGE THREE

gant insistence that the next election must be won by unity at all costs. The mixture as before, but all the plum posts for the Bevan boys.

What a refreshing contrast it is to turn to the contributions of Messrs. Woodburn, Deakin, Gaitskell, Earnshaw and the rest. Here was the search for means of applying socialist philosophy to world affairs, a humble and profitable admission of fallibility, an attempt to discover where the last Labour government went so far wrong that the electorate was prepared to give the Tories another chance.

These men, the real backbone of the party, disdained to sit back and rely on the ineptitude of the Tories to win the next election for them. They are not hangers on, but pushers forward. Move along the bandwagon, there. They believe in socialism in our time, and no personalities.

Take Mr. Deakin, for example. He left conference in no doubt where he stood, facing the facts and the future, four-square with flat feet firmly on the floor.

Or Mr. Gaitskell. True, he referred, as did the others, to the necessity of winning the next election. But this was merely a son to convention. He went on to stress the importance of having a programme to win the election with, and made it quite clear that the programme which lost the last election and would also lose the next election but one, was good enough for him.

Conference appreciated this as a demonstration of practical politics—with no airy-fairy stuff about living within your income—and warmly applauded it.

Mr. Gaitskell having cleared decks for action at Morecambe, proceded to lay about him at Stalybridge. He quickly revealed that his brilliant economic mind, which can invariably tell the difference between a silk purse and a sow's ear, was no less skilled in sorting out the exact percentage of fellow travellers from a given quantity of socialist crusaders; probably because the crusaders all wear striped trousers. He also declared that it was "time to end the attempt of mob rule by a group of frustrated journalists."

*

HERE, perhaps, it may be felt that Mr. Gaitskell was a little inaccurate. To describe a journalist as "frustrated" would appear to be a contradiction in terms. Frustrations are submerged urges or ingrowing inhibitions, and there is no more uninhibited company than that composed of two or three journalists gathered together.

For an example of real frustration the ex-Chancellor should take a dekko at a Tory editor trying to make political capital out of a drive for a socialist Britain. The journalist may not be frustrated, but the Tory is. However, on this occasion Mr. Gaitskell deliberately, and quite rightly, refrained from attacking the Tories. With a reach as long as his, it would have been a pity to waste his blows on those politically nearest him.

It is to be hoped that the Bevanites will soon realise the error of their ways, and the incalculable harm they are doing the Labour Party by seeking to involve it in irrelevant matter like the socialist foreign policy, a socialist economy, and the making of peace without having a war first.

It is easy to tell who are the real socialists in the movement by observing the horror with which the Tory Press regards the policy of "the solid, sound, sensible majority of the movement" to quote Mr. Gaitskell, and the warm affection which it feels towards the Bevanite's policy.

The ordinary people of Britain will be content to support again a tried and practical policy which in less than half a century has given us increasing economic prosperity, two successful world wars, and all the preparations for a third . And if Mr. Churchill supports the same policy, that just proves how progressive the Old Man has become.

The only men whose hands can safely be entrusted with that new atomic bomb are the men with the flat feet and the flushed faces.

And, of course, no personalities.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Safer transport—or arms?

MR. FRANK MOXLEY advocates (in PN October 17) that the Government should spend some £10 millions in installing safety devices on the railways.

It is certainly time that public opinion was roused against the high expenditure on armaments and a higher proportion of the national resources devoted to building up the wellbeing and progress of the country.

Just as important as the spending of money on railway safety is the need to spend money on road safety. An illustrated booklet published by the British Road Federation most graphically illustrates the accident reduction that can be secured by road improvements. A number of accident-prone corners are shown before and after improvement by various forms of improved layout, and the reduction in accidents thereby obtained is remarkable.

A lot of effort is spent on exhortations to road safety. Doubtless this is most necessary. But it is essential to eliminate black-spots by engineering improvements. This booklet shows just how successful these improvements can be.

In contrast, however, to the railways who would have to beg to the government for the money for their safety measures, road transport has already contributed ample funds to meet the cost of many road improvements.

Over the last six financial years, the Government has taken over £1,200 millions in taxation of road transport (licences, petrol tax etc.), out of which it has doled out no more than the meagre sum of £165 millions on roads.

The British Road Federation advocates that the Government should allocate another £5 millions a year towards the removal of the immense number of black spots.

This is too modest a request. The Government should grant at least £25 millions having regard to the immense sums it receives from the taxation of motor transport.

Money spent in this way, rather than on armaments, will advance the wellbeing of the country, both in saving of lives, and in promoting our communications which are an essential basis of our civilised life.

RALPH CROPPER,

50 St. James Avenue,
Beckenham, Kent.

"What to do about Americans"

ROY KEPLER'S article "What to do about Americans" (Peace News, October 10) ought to be read by every politician in Britain.

There can be few, whatever party they support, who do not in their hearts deeply resent American infringements of our country's independence. And yet the majority seem so mesmerised by the so-called power of the dollar that they are incapable of thinking out a constructive response.

What Britain and the world desperately need is a moral alternative to both imperialism—economic or otherwise—and Russian communism. The Bevanites have perhaps started in the right direction, but they have hardly begun to get down to the detailed formulation of policy.

Something deeper than mere economic and political plans is needed. The policies of both Russia and America stem to some extent from their respective ways of life. Can we say that the British way of life has something to offer that is fundamentally better than either?

I think we can. I believe that the clue to the solution of the world's present crisis lies in the British tradition of freedom and social justice which goes back at least to Wycliffe and Langland in the 14th century, and is directly derived from primitive, non-sectarian Christianity.

Much must be done to re-vitalise our ideals and to re-interpret them in terms of the atomic age; we must be humble enough to learn from other nations, not least from the Russians and Americans. We should strive to evolve a way of life which, while remaining distinctively British, yet synthesizes the best elements of East and West. Then we shall truly be in a position to act as a bridge between the two great opposing systems.

R. A. Jauralde,

Still Waters,
Wroxham, Norwich.

A picture moved him

THE picture (in Peace News, Oct. 10) of Kathleen Rawlins and Norman Iles standing outside S. Africa House reminded me once again that I am a mere hanger-on, a rubbishy hypocrite, with no right whatever to call myself a pacifist.

It is almost an impertinence for me to offer money but perhaps in the spirit of forgiveness you will accept the small sum enclosed from one who who loves peace but does little about it.

"REMORSE."

(Our correspondent, who does not send his name or address, encloses £5.—Ed., PN.)

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Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, **TOWN**, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, October 31

NEWPORT: 7.15 p.m. Summerhill Baptist Ch; public mtg; Rev. Clifford Macquire on "The Church and Peace"; chair: Rev. D. R. Griffiths; FoR

LONDON, W.C.1: Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq.; Peace News Birthday and Dick Sheppard Anniversary; 6.30: Social and refreshments (2s. 6d.); 7.30: Speeches by Humphrey Moore, Allen Skinner and Vera Brittain; excerpts from Shakespeare by Ann Casson and Douglas Campbell; piano recital by Frank Merrick; film shorts of Dick Sheppard and George Lansbury; adm. 1s.; PPU.

Saturday, November 1

LEEDS: Carlton Hill Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane; 2.30 p.m. PPU Yorkshire Area AGM; 5.30 tea (1s. 6d.); 6.30 p.m. CO Rally Victor Yates MP on "Which Way to Peace?"; 7.30 one-act play "Youth Hostel" presented by PPU Drama Group.

LONDON, W.1.: Friends' Ho, Euston Rd.: PPU "Steps to Peace" Conference: 2.30 Reports of Education, Non-Violence, Religion and Social Order Commissions; 4 p.m. Commissions' business mtgs; 4.30 tea; 5.30-7.30 Brains Trust.

PINNER: 3-5.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Rayners La: mtg. for young people (15-25); 5.30 Tea; 7.30 public mtg: Rev. Clifford Macquire on "Seeing for Myself in Moscow"; FoR.

RUGBY: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Regent Pl; 3 p.m. public mtg; Hugh Faulkner on "A Christian Talks Peace in Moscow"; 5 p.m. members' mtg; Hugh Faulkner on "Our Responsibility and Immediate Task; FoR.

WEMBLEY: 7.30 p.m. Park Ln. Sch; public mtg; Mr. K. T. Fowler (Britain-China Friendship Ass. and A.Sc.W.) on Germ Warfare: also Mr. Stan Birkett (Sec., Wembley PPU); adm. 6d; Peace Council.

Sunday, November 2

CAMBRIDGE: 8.30 p.m. Trinity Lecture Room; The Heretics invite FoR members to their meeting when Prof. C. A. Coulson will speak on Christian Pacifism and Power Politics.

Monday, November 3

CAMBRIDGE: 8.15 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho; open mtg; Rev. Clifford Macquire on "My Visit to Russia"; FoR.

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. 12 Downside Cres. (close to Belsize Pk Tube) "The Christian Gospel—Good News for Peace"; Harold Farmer; FoR.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 8 p.m. News Theatre; public mtg; Rev. Dr. Charles E. Raven on "Christ and Peace"; FoR.

WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Central Library, Snow Hill; public mtg; Archdeacon Hartill on "Communism, War and Christianity"; Peace Council.

Tuesday, November 4

HARROW: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg Ho. 456 Rayners Ln; public mtg; Canon Collins on "Civilisation on Trial in S. Africa"; SoF.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. Friends' Ho., Euston Rd; Hugh Faulkner and Margaret Harvey on their visit to the Soviet Union; Friends' Peace Committee.

SCARBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m. Public Library; Paul Cadbury CBE on "The Soviet Union and the West"; SoF.

Thursday, November 6

DORKING: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg Ho, South St; public mtg; Rev. Clifford H. Macquire—"A Pacifist looks at Russia"; FoR.

HORSHAM: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; Hugh Faulkner on "Talking Peace in Moscow"; FoR.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mr. J. Leonard on The Prospect of the Future; PPU.

PECKHAM: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Highshore Rd; public mtg. for racial equality; South African speakers; PPU.

WEMBLEY: 8.20 280 Ealing Rd, Alperton; discussion on "The War to End War" opened by Francis Andrews (ex-Editor of UPW's "The Post"); PPU.

Friday, November 7

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Midland Institute, Paradise St; Public Mtg.; "Britain—Bridge or Battlefield?"; Victor Yates MP and Stuart Morris; PPU.

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. Laycock's (Library); Cnclr. J. Backhouse will speak a tmtg of newly-foormed PPU Group.

LINCOLN: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Beaumont Fee; David M. Jones, National Secretary, FSU, on "Problem Families and the Work of the FSU"; FoR and IVSP.

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields; Intercession Service for Peace; The Rev. E. W. Dawe; APF, FoR, PPU.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Upper Lattimore Rd; Canon L. J. Collins on "The Road to Peace"; FoR.

SAFFRON WALDEN: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho; public mtg; Rev. Dr. C. E. Raven on "Christianity and the World Situation"; FoR.

Sat. Nov. 8-Sun. Nov. 9

BIRMINGHAM: FoR Youth Conference at Barnes Close, arranged by Birmingham Youth Committee. Details from Miss Margaret Neal, 23 Howard Rd., Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

Sunday, November 9

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m.: St. Andrews (Kent) Hall; public mtg: "It Can be Peace"; Sybil Morrison and John Rankin MP; PPU.

Monday, November 10

BERKHAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. All Saints Hall, Cross Oak Rd; Rev. Clifford Macquire on "The Church and Peace"; FoR

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m. Queens Rd Baptist Church; "Impressions of my Recent Visit to Russia"—Mrs. Agnes Stapledon; Chair: Walter L. Chinn, MA; PPU and WIL.

LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg Ho: public mtg; Hugh Faulkner—"Seeing for Myself in Russia"; FoR.

Tuesday, November 11

HUDDERSFIELD: 8 p.m. 29 Red Doles Rd, Fartown; public mtg; Mr. Alan Lowson (Probation Officer) on "Family Service Units"; FoR.

SCARBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m. Public Library; Rt. Hon. A. Creech Jones on "Race Relations and World Order"; SoF.

WELLINGBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m. Alma St Church Hall; public mtg; Hugh Faulkner on "Talking Peace in Moscow"; chair: Rev. C. F. Guy; FoR.

Wednesday, November 12

BOW, E.3: 8 p.m. Kingsley Hall, Powis Rd; public mtg; Rev. Clifford H. Macquire—"My Visit to Russia"; PPU and FoR.

LEIGH-ON-SEA: 8 p.m. Wesley Church, Elm Rd; public mtg; Hugh Faulkner—"Talking Peace in Moscow"; Methodist Peace F'ship.

Thursday, November 13

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m. PPU members meet at 12 Stoney Stanton Rd for leaflet distribution.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

Friday, November 14

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg Ho, Mount St; Rev. J. W. Dyer on "A Faith called Pacifism"; PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho; public mtg: Hugh Faulkner on "Seeing for Myself in Russia"; FoR.

WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Dunstall Rd Baptist Tabernacle; Rev. Clifford Macquire—"My Recent Visit to the USSR"; Baptist Men's Guild and FoR.

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MEETINGS

DINNER in honour of Prof. J. D. Bernal, FRS, Vice-President of the World Council for Peace, on Friday, November 14, 1952, at 7.15 p.m. at "Chez Auguste," Frith St. W.1. Tickets 12s. 6d. from S. Goldbloom, 3 Muswell Ave ,N.10.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

"THE POLITICAL Situation in India" by R. Mishra (Indian Socialist Party) at 1 Broadhurst Gdns, N.W.6. Nov. 9, 9 p.m. I.L.P.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

YUGOSLAVIA. Reunion and Public Meeting. Friends' House, Euston Rd. Nov. 14, 7 p.m. Speakers: Leah Manning, Charles Ford. Films: "The Bridge"; "Dalmation Coast." Holiday Friendship Service.

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THE LESSONS OF MONTE BELLO

How much security have we now?

THE statement that Mr. Churchill made to the House of Commons on the explosion of the British atomic bomb at Monte Bello shows once more what terrible danger we are in as a result of our failure to agree on any measure of disarmament.

For it looks as if one of the purposes of this test was to discover what would happen if an atom bomb exploded in a harbour.

Up to now we have been given to understand that the main idea of the atom bomb was to destroy enemy production centres and communications. Now we know that the experts who were sent to study the effects of the explosion were instructed to find out what might be the results if an atom bomb were dropped in British waters.

When Mr. Churchill made his famous Fulton speech he assumed that the possession of the atom bomb by the West gave us the advantage in a future war. If there are any lessons from his statement they are that Britain with its many harbours and its coastal popuplation has more to fear from the atom bomb than any country in the world.

Russia has not many harbours and seaports. She is a country without many densely populated cities on the coast and it is hardly likely that this elaborate and costly experiment was designed to see what would happen to Leningrad or Odessa or Vladivostok. They could all be atom bombed without destroying Russia's capacity for carrying on a war.

If bomb exploded in Thames

But what about ourselves? What would happen if the explosion that vaporised the frigate took place in the Thames estuary?

"Care was taken to wait for southerly winds so as to avoid the possibility of any significant concentration of radio-active particles spreading over the Australian mainland," said Mr. Churchill. Obviously if an enemy were out to destroy or demoralise London because Britain was being used as an atomic base against the USSR such precautions would not be taken, it would be the reverse.

The experts obviously were afraid of the effects of radio-activity following the explosion and this explanation was given to calm down public opinion in Australia where some anxiety had been expressed.

Six bombs dropped on Britain, in the sea near London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Cardiff, Southampton and Newcastle, would have terrible consequences, and doubts have been expressed whether this country could carry on a war under the conditions that would result.

A mass of atomised ruins

Probably this is what Mr. Churchill meant when he talked at the Pilgrims' Dinner about major decisions being taken in another war in the first week or month. It would be nothing like the last war and as far as we were concerned we would be out of it and a mass of atomised ruins very quickly.

That is the position we have arrived at as the result of our refusal to abandon the atom bomb. How much money we have spent since 1945 on armaments which have become obsolete in the light of the Monte Bello explosion we do not know and it is not likely we will be told.

The Prime Minister makes great play with the statement that the Labour Government had spent £100,000,000 on the atom bomb without telling Parliament. It was indeed pathetic to see Labour ex-Ministers sitting silent not knowing what to say about Churchill's statement and his taunt that it was their bomb.

Even Mr. Noel-Baker couldn't get up and say that it was the wicked Russians who made the atom bomb first.

What complete folly this has been! £100,000,000 preparing atom bombs in order to make our densely populated country the target of the counter-attack for which we are so ridiculously unprepared.

How many big air raid shelters has the Government in hand for the places likely to be in mortal danger? Not one. It will not allow the local authorities the material to build, even if they desired it. Indeed nobody believes it to be practical.

Last week in the early hours of the morning Parliament rushed through some regulations sanctioning the building of control centres underground, underneath the parks. This was only a few hours after the Prime Minister's statement, and these were not for the civilian population but for the control personnel.

What they are going to control, and how, the Ministers simply couldn't say.

Not long ago the Home Secretary had to meet strong criticism from one of the London Tory MPs who had been Chairman of the LCC Civil Defence Committee. They couldn't get any kind of satisfactory replies from the Home Office about the finance of Civil Defence or any approval of an adequate shelter policy.

It is now quite clear that the Russians not only want the atom bomb banned but are prepared to agree to international inspection.

In the light of what we now know about the Monte Bello explosions we should be voting for this with both hands.

Is Mr. Churchill prepared to tell the House of Commons any more about atomic war preparations than the last Government?

Will he tell us how much he is spending this year or going to spend next year?

If the House of Commons really knew its job it would insist immediately on a full debate on atom war dangers in the light of what happened at Monte Bello.

Certainly we are entitled to insist that our huge rearmament programme should be re-examined in the light of what Mr. Churchill now openly admits: that the next war is not likely to be like the last.

Meanwhile we know that we have less security for our rearmament than Eire, which has no rearmament, no huge defence expenditure and no conscription.

MASS MURDER A MORAL WEAKNESS

Britain's first atomic bomb . . . vapourised the 1,450 ton frigate, HMS Plym in which it was exploded. —Daily Telegraph, October 24, 1952.

The possibility of an atomic bomb being carried into a major seaport by an apparently harmless vessel, in advance of any declaration of war and exploded without warning has worried atomic defence planners. . . . What security measures can be taken to detect an atomic bomb secreted in a ship?
—The Observer, October 26, 1952.

Should we ever feel that circumstances oblige us to use this weapon it should be with a sense of shame: shame for our own moral weakness and for our participation in the sin of mankind.
—Church of England Newspaper, October 24, 1952.

WRITING last week before the official report was given in the House of Commons of Britain's atom experiment, I commented that on account of the absolute necessity for striking first in an atomic war, the defence of the future would lie in taking the initiative in the war that no one wants.

Since Mr. Churchill's description of what happened at Monte Bello it would appear that other newspapers besides Peace News have suddenly become aware of this danger.

It is now known that a warship armoured in steel, in which the atom bomb was exploded, became in less than a minute of time as immaterial as vapour; the temperature as the flash came was one million degrees, and the whole of the great steel bulk evaporated into nothingness.

Thousands of tons of mud and rock from the sea bottom were hurled into the air, and there is, as yet, no knowing the consequences of such an upheaval of the elements should the explosion take place, not hundreds of miles from land, but confined within the harbour walls of a sea-port.

And so it is beginning to dawn upon these dauntless advocates of security through strength, that with her growing strength Britain has never been so insecure.

*

A few enemy ships coming into Britain's sea-ports, undisguised and "upon their lawful occasions," could, at a chosen moment, and without declaration of war, wreck entirely our essential contacts with the rest of the world; and the damage done by so fabulous a heat, the fearful impact upon the mainland, the huge tidal wave, the red hot fragments starting up raging fires, could mean defeat, if not total annihilation in a matter of hours.

Naturally there is no defence other than to strike first, and it is left to an organ of the Church of England to argue that this may be necessary! It is, however, since it speaks for the Church, concerned with our souls, and explaining that under certain circumstances Britain may be obliged to use the bomb, it then, in perfect Gilbert and Sullivan style, calls us to repentance.

The fact that we did so "with a sense of shame for our own moral weakness" would of course be a tremendous alleviation to the innocent and suffering people upon whom the infamous weapon has been used! Perhaps the Church of England newspaper believes it would help the British people in their agony, should the Russians use the atom bomb on this island, were it known that they did so with a "sense of shame."

*

If the Church of England believes the use of this weapon to be immoral, and at least one of the high dignitaries has made that pronouncement, then there can be no circumstances which would make its use obligatory.

To kneel in shame while robbing the till does not repay the owner; to preach repentance without reform is a disgraceful piece of sophistry, unworthy and futile, and will do nothing either to secure the British people against the atom bomb, nor to save their souls.

It is the use of the war method itself which has led the human race to produce weapons by which they may ultimately destroy themselves. The dreadful cost of victory today has, it seems, at last become too great in terms of human conscience, and so the time is surely ripe, as it has never been before, to make a stand for the abolition of war. This is the goal for which pacifists strive; commonsense and conscience should make it the goal of all mankind.

KENYA ARRESTS

(From page one)

Mau plot does not bear serious examination. During this year it has been working on the land petition, collecting thousands of signatures. One of the points in the petition—the right of Africans to occupy vacant land in the Highlands—has been backed by over 200 Labour MPs. Soon the petition was to be presented in the House of Commons.

Is it reasonable to suppose that the Union would deliberately wreck this nine months work just at the moment when it was bearing fruit?

Meant hope for Africans

KAU, with its 100,000 members, represented the cream of the politically-aware Africans. Many of its leaders were educated in the West. It meant for the mass of Africans the hope of settling their social problems and advancing themselves by peaceful, constitutional means.

The Africans, even though an undemocratic constitution had been foisted upon them by the white minority, always worked with the idea of advancing their cause by education and persuasion.

But now that the bulk of KAU's leaders are in gaol and public meetings are banned, what is left but the method of underground agitation and the secret society?

Mr. Mathu, leader of the **nominated** African members of the Legislative Council (there are no **elected** Africans) volunteered to go to the tribal areas to try to restore African confidence. But, he said, what could he and his colleagues do when they were forbidden to talk to more than three persons at a time?

They did not blame Maquis

I have never believed the stories of a highly organised Mau Mau plot. I believe that the measures taken in Kenya, even before the emergency regulations, were out of all proportion to the few scattered acts of violence. But I would not like to say that there will not now be widespread violence in Kenya.

Moreover, I believe that those who glorify violence in other circumstances, as, for example, by the Maquis in Nazi-occupied France, have no moral right to condemn Africans if they strike back violently at alien oppression.

When you consider what the Kenya Africans have suffered it is a wonder there hasn't been serious violence. They have had their lands stolen; they have been driven by hunger into the towns to become a new urban unemployed and homeless army. That there haven't been mass riots is due to the restraint encouraged by the responsible African leaders whom the white Government has now imprisoned.

Mr Lyttelton himself admits that economic conditions are a source of unrest. Yet all he does is to promise an investigation and refer to the Royal Commission which does not even begin work until next year.

It may well be two or three years before its report is published. How many years before something is done?

How can hungry and homeless people wait upon this laborious process?

When the Government decided to use troops it acted in a matter of hours. It would do better to reserve such haste for more practical measures such as lifting the minimum wage to a subsistence level; raising African social standards; dealing with the problems of land hunger, unemployment and homelessness; giving the Africans real rights in the Legislative Council.

Peace is impossible in Kenya unless the Government acknowledges its blunder, releases the African leaders forthwith and accepts Kenyatta's proposal of a round-table conference. That is the only way to stop the panic and restore inter-racial harmony.

Attack on Fenner Brockway, M.P. in Kenya Legislature

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP, and Leslie Hale, MP, left London on Monday by air for Kenya.

They had been invited by the Kenya Africa Union about a month ago, before the arrest of the KAU leaders and the declaration of a state of emergency.

On the day the MPs left London, the leader of the elected Europeans in the Kenya Legislature, Mr. Michael Blundell, said that he would formally deplore the visit of Mr. Brockway. He described him as "an arch apostle of racialism."

BY CARAVAN TO WASHINGTON

COINCIDING with the climax of the Presidential election campaign, a National Caravan carrying members of Peacemakers, an American pacifist organisation, set out last Sunday on a journey from Philadelphia to Washington, stopping at various strategic spots along the way.

The caravan was scheduled to reach Washington tomorrow, and over the week-end a National Peacemaker Conference will be held in Washington. Between Saturday and Tuesday—election day—Peacemakers will carry out as many demonstrations as possible in the Washington area.

The centre-piece of their propaganda is a four-page leaflet—"Vote for Peace—How?"—which will also be distributed by Peacemakers in other parts of the United States.

The leaflet points out that practically all the presidential candidates say "to get peace you have to prepare for war," to vote a sixty billion dollar war budget. This, however, means ever higher prices for civilian goods, because "you can't pay the bills for groceries, clothes, school equipment, good roads or medicine with guns and battleships."

Peacemakers, the leaflet continues, do not believe that this is the way to peace. Americans "are fast becoming people who are committing suicide in our frantic efforts to prevent the Russians from destroying us." The way to "vote for peace" is to act and live peace.

Some ways in which to do this are then suggested—by standing up for the right of anybody to have his say, by opposing racial or religious discrimination, by refusing to be conscripted for war.

Workers who refuse to get their living by making diabolical weapons vote for peace. So do those who refuse to pay taxes with which governments can make such weapons.

Churches and Synagogues which in the name of Jesus, St. Francis, George Fox, or Isaiah, Hillel and Akiba would refuse to bless any war would vote for peace, act to keep true religion alive in the earth.

Quaker mission

(Continued from page one)

as they certainly did in Europe and in the Middle East; they can also undertake as an expression of their concern a limited and self-contained task within the official programme which on occasion has had an influence out of proportion to its scale.

How far the conditions in Korea will at the present stage allow for either or both methods of work is the business of the mission to discover.

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